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423 621 166 tlements were assigned to one of the two sections of the division in the center with an attempt being made to maintain a demographic balance. Incorporation of the new settlements was more effective in the case of the barrios than in the case of the colonias, which were farther away from the town center and included Indians of diverse communities. The process of 175 breaking away from the old community is illustrated by the 1961 move for 423 independence made by the original settlers of the colonia of Caralampio. 621 The following account was given by a man who was then secretary of the 661 ejido: 159

The first settlers of San Caralampio, José, Pablo, Luciano, and Santos were self-appointed principales, *or head men, of the colony. Santos and Luciano were from the town center, and José and Pablo had worked on the ranch when it was privately owned. The colony was well populated and the people lived well—there were no fights nor any problems. In 1956 the four principales decided that they should separate from the center. They told the people that if each person would contribute twenty-five pesos, they would raise the issue of the division in the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *José invited Mateo, a man who knew how to read and write, to help them.*

"Let's divide from the town so that we alone will run the colony," he told them.

The principales took the money contributed and went to Tuxtla. There, in the Liga de Communidad Agraria *they asked for the separation, and were referred to the* Departamento Agraria Mixta. *When they arrived there with their request, the commissioner said that he would have to communicate with the chief in Mexico.*

After this, Pablo came one day to the center. He spoke to the ejido commission: "Look here, José, Luciano and Mateo went to Tuxtla."

"What for?" asked the ejido president.

"They asked for a division from the town."

"Que pendejo!" *said the president. "What happened?"*

"What do you think?" asked Pablo.

"We are against it. If it was a new center, we would support you. But

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we are against division," said the president. "How much did you have to contribute?" he asked Pablo.

"Twenty-five pesos. They told us if we do not give money, we will be thrown out of the colonia."

We advised him that it would be better not to continue giving money to the principales. "You can't make this division," we told him.

One Sunday all the pueblo united in a mass meeting. Everyone was present. People asked about the affair of San Caralampio, and the Ejido Commission explained to them what had happened. The people said, "Let's get rid of them [the four principales of San Caralampio]."

When the three principales returned to San Caralampio from Tuxtla they asked each household head to contribute fifty pesos in order to send them to Mexico to talk personally with the Chief of the Ejido Division. Pablo came the next day to talk to the president in the center and advised them that the principales had gone out. There was another meeting. The president's decision was to get a contribution of one peso from each person in the center so that they would have six hundred pesos to prevent the division. They feared that if this occurred the people of the center couldn't work down there.

When the leaders of the central Ejido Commission had received the money, they went to the departmental capital to explain to the chief of the ejido zone what had happened. They said that the leaders of the colonia had gone to Mexico.

"Let's to go work!" said the chief. "Did you bring the money?"

"Yes, we have six hundred pesos."

"Go to the bank and change it into one-hundred-peso bills," said the chief. "Let us send two hundred pesos to the chief of the division in Mexico so that he will prevent the division."

We sent the money airmail. Before the principales of San Caralampio had arrived, we had their way blocked. Our money went to work for us. In five days, the chief in Las Casas said the money had been well received, and the leaders of San Caralampio had not been received.

A week later, Pablo came to see how the affair had proceeded. We asked Pablo if he had contributed money. He said no. We told him,

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175 423 621 661 159 *"Don't give any more money. The Ejido Commission won't let the division happen since we are the same pueblo."*

The four principales returned from Mexico. They said that they had a paper and that an engineer would come. They asked for another contribution of 25 pesos. They said that those who wouldn't pay would be thrown out. Pablo came and told us. We told him not to be afraid. The principales now knew that Pablo was with us. He had two brothers, Pancho and Ignacio, whom he advised not to go along with the principales since he knew that they would not win the case. When the principales returned to ask for more money for their trips to Tuxtla, both brothers refused.

175 423 621 661 682 159 *Since these three brothers did not cooperate, the principales got angry and decided to kill Pablo. One day, when Pablo was on his way to Teopisca, he was shot in the back. He continued riding 76 meters. The horse returned to his house. His wife ran to tell his two brothers that the horse had come home without a rider. The brothers ran out and found Pablo dead. The civil authorities of the town went. A few days passed. The brothers never asked for justice. But since they knew who did it, one of them took Pablo's 16-centimeter rifle. Pablo's wife had been thinking of selling it to pay for the expenses of the funeral. Pancho [Pablo's brother] said, "No wait. I will buy it as soon as I have money."*

He borrowed it for several years. One Sunday there was an order for all of the people of San Caralampio to go to the pueblo. They got up early and wakened all the others with a horn. Pancho got up with his rifle. He went to Juan's house and shot him. Luciano had Pancho jailed in the department capitol. He declared his crime, and said that he had killed Juan because the latter had shot his brother. He made a good statement. For this reason, he got out very cheaply—1500 pesos—which he paid with his crop of beans and corn. He was in prison in San Caralampio three months. Now he lives in Teopisca. His sons go to work there, but he doesn't. One day, Pancho was shot in the back—I don't know how many centimeters the bullet penetrated, but he did not die. The brothers of Juan and José have all left the colonia.

José was the one who caused all of the trouble. His wife was the younger sister of Pablo and she left him. Now José is going around begging for food to eat.

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cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

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phrase "worth my time"). He therefore persuaded a Ladino of Teopisca to lend him 5,000 pesos. He went down to hot country and bought corn when it was scarce in the village, brought it up the hill, sold a little to pay for his needs, but held the rest until the price went up in the next three months. In a two year period of buying and selling with his 5,000 peso investment, he grossed 400,000 pesos. Afterwards he began to hire men to work in his milpa. At a meeting of the cooperative association in 1966, Santos defended his investments of the association's funds by showing his carefully kept accounts. He held up his pencil saying proudly, "This is my machete! This is my hoe!" The phrasing is an imitation of Ladino rhetoric of the provinces.

Santos served as treasurer of the ejido commission and of the town. In 1965 he was made a *nič'nal martoma,* or junior religious official in charge of caring for the saints. His appointment was an attempt made by the former president, a member of the Ladino-owned trucking concern, to cut down Santo's operations in passenger traffic on Sunday by keeping him occupied in religious activities. While in office, Santos began an enquiry into the use of the funds collected in donations to the saints. The priest had gained control over these funds, and had not subjected the collection to the public review and accounting procedures by which funds had been handled by the civil administration. Santos demanded an explanation by the priest, who refused to make a statement. The issue was raised in a general assembly of the men of the community which occurs sporadically on Sundays. Meanwhile Santos was taking advantage of the money associated with each of the major saints. In the cargo system for the care of saints, a fund of money is passed over in the installation ceremony from the outgoing mayordomos to the incoming mayordomo. This fund has always been passed over to the incoming officials with an increment of about 10 pesos. Santos requested the use of these funds to "make them grow," and he thus gained uncontested access to low interest funds which he used in his brokerage activities. In addition to the interest, he gave a gift of clothing to the saint to maintain good credit relations.

Santos' administration of funds in his public capacity as town treasurer, storekeeper, and treasurer of both the ejido commission and the truck cooperative won him a reputation of honesty and reliability. His knowl-

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159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo*, or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzo'ontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzo'ontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal*, the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

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When this fails, they turn to the professional help of lawyers rather than to the old caciques with whom they had formerly maintained patron-client relations. The traditional structural alignment of upper and lower barrios is retained as the basis for organizing the growing cattle herds, but the cooperative provides flexibility and power for developing new enterprises.

The minimal changes in the material environment and the technology of the peasantry are countered by the development of social resources which should facilitate Indian integration in the wider society. In operating the new enterprises independently of Ladino control, they are developing entrepreneurial skills and an awareness of the relationship between capital and profit. The restriction of their operations to nonproductive use of capital for profit, such as buying crops at harvest and reselling as the price rises, reveals the limited dynamics of intracommunal development. The town will look to the regional and national networks for fundamental changes in its economy.

The fear of exciting envy acts as a brake on productive activity and the enjoyment of improved consumption resulting from wealth. Santos' death is a symbolic warning to others who would follow in his footsteps. An earlier case occurred when the ejido land grants were made in the 30s:

The brothers Ča?iletik became "very rich" as a result of careful operation of their ejido and privately owned land. They owned ten pair of oxen and about fifty horses. When they brought in their crops on horseback, it looked like a line of ants. They built a good house in Alkob', and a good threshing shelter. The people of the town began to talk about getting them off the land. The ejido commissioner took their land away and turned it over to others in the town. Until this day, the brothers Ča?iletik are without land. Now they do no more than work like other men. They live poorly. All their cattle and horses are sold.

The organization of the cooperatives is one means of diverting envy directed against individuals and permitting some increase in productive efforts, but the society still lacks the means of validating higher consumption standards. The richest man in town eats better than his neighbors,

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857 the larger ones their mothers make, but their products are usually not
[323] commercially saleable until they reach the age of marriage. Their responsi-
[312] bility in preadolescence is to bring water from the faucets installed in every other block of the town, and to degrain corn, tend the fire as the *nixtamal*, or corn dough mixed with lime, cooks, and help their mother grind it. The careful assessment of the child's capacity to perform tasks is exemplified by the gradations of water-carrying jars given to each child: the older the child, the larger the jar, with minute variations in scale. The
[592] close, usually wordless cooperation between women in a household comes
[462] from years of working together and knowing their part in cooperative tasks.

Boys accompany their fathers to the fields after they reach the age of six and when they are not attending school. They do not participate in the work of the milpa until they are eight or older, but they pick up twigs for the fire or gather the wild berries or plants which supplement the diet of
[411] the family. They usually carry slingshots with which they kill field rats
[262] and birds, which they bring home to cook and eat. Teaching a boy the
868 tasks involved in agriculture is consciously undertaken by older brothers
241 or the father when the child reaches the age of twelve or thirteen. The following reminiscence of this training is given by a man who had been brought up by his widowed mother and brother.

• 159 *I went to the field with my brother who is eighteen years older than I,*
868 *when I was thirteen years old. My brother brought me to clean the milpa,*
241 *saying, "Let us go and you will learn how to work. See what I do and you do the same. You will learn what I do and you can do the same."*

One day I finished six rows. My brother said when he saw my work, "Good, just give a little more soil at the foot of the corn because the little corn must have a little soil. Now you do it well." "Yes," I said. He saw it was good, and he told me, "You have learned your work. You are going to forget it when you enter school. When you come out of school, go do two or three rows of work. When you hear the bell strike, go back to school."

He told my mother that I had learned to work, and she said, "Good you know how to cultivate." I learned to do my work better by going along with my elder brother in his work so that I would not forget.

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up with a swayohel. One man near San Vicente said his friend went there to ask for one. Next day, the enemy died. One man who went there said when he woke up he was sure he had gained a swayohel. He had dreamed of two animals. "Are they my swayoheles?" he asked. They were jaguars.

When he got to his house, the same two animals came. They thought about how to get his enemies. But when the jaguars had killed his enemies, they were not content. Then they went on to kill many people. Finally the man was shot. The spirits of all those who die as a result of a swayohel received from ?Ahau go to him after their death.

Curers are classified as potentially good or dangerous on the basis of what kind of swayohel they have. Good curers have swayoheles of animals which eat leaves or grass—horses, sheep, bulls, or other herbivorous animals. Potentially dangerous curers have the souls of carnivorous animals —vultures, dogs, cats, mountain lions, coyote, and others. They may not use these swayoheles for evil, but possession of such a soul is a basis for suspicion. Usually the curers keep secret the nature of their swayohel, but sometimes when they are drunk they brag about its power. Good swayoheles fly or walk straight down the main roads of the town, while evil swayoheles lurk at the outskirts of the settled area.

Only one woman has a swayohel and practices curing. She is reputed to have acquired her swayohel in the following manner:

There was a woman named Andrea Ča?il and another named Fernanda Ča?il. They were not sisters, but they were of the Ča?iletik. Fernanda died. She was a true elder woman, a very strong woman. She lived in Madronal and Andrea lived in the center.

One day Andrea said, "Let us go collect wood," to two girls.

"Let's go," said the girls. "Where shall we get the wood?"

"Let's go in the woods behind Madronal," replied Andrea. "Let's go."

The women arrived in the mountain to cut wood. When they had the wood, Andrea said she saw a mulberry bush. "Let us eat some berries," she said.

Andrea went to the mulberry bush. She saw a white ball of Čišol *under the bush. "What kind of an animal is that?" she asked.*

The girls looked at it and said, "We don't know."

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Andrea told them to go and eat the mulberries and she would see what kind of an animal it was. The animal said, "Come here." But when they got there, there was no animal.

In two or four days, people asked them, "What kind of an animal did you see?"

"It was a dog that we saw. Not a real dog, but the soul of the dead Fernanda. Andrea caught it," the girls said.

"Did you truly see where it was?" the people asked.

"I caught it," said Andrea.

"Why did you catch it," the girls asked.

"I caught it because it is a pity it died. Since there is no one to take it, I grabbed it because it made me sad that she [Fernanda] died."

Now Andrea is a me? u?ul [woman curer]. She fights sickness because she has this extra soul.

Ordinarily, soul-catching is dangerous since it is sezure of power which has not been granted at birth by the me?iltatil. Andrea, however, has never been accused of doing harm, and people emphasize that she did it out of sympathy for her dead kinswoman.

There is some sentiment that curers should not enter too young into the curing profession. If they do, they should be extremely deferential to the elder curers, and not claim greater powers. The informant quoted above concerning the initiation of her husband into the curing profession maintains that the older curers did not support her husband when he was accused as a witch because of jealousy of his youth.

My husband was very young when he entered curing. He had gone to cure in the house of a man living near Domingo [his enemy]. Domingo saw him come out drunk. He had a companion, Lorenzo. About eight people gathered. They put a nail in his jaws. He lived three nights. He told me who did it. I went to the cabildo with my father. They got many witnesses to deny they had been near. It was during the fiesta of Carnival.

My father and I spoke with the authorities in Las Casas. But nothing was done. I did not know how to speak well in Spanish; I went and spoke to Domingo. He told me, "It was your husband's own fault."

"What crime did he have?" I asked.

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"He looked for trouble!" Domingo replied.
I said, "You killed my husband!"
He said, "It was not I! It was not I!"
It doesn't serve to enter curing early. People will kill you right away. Another young man wanted to enter. The curers did not permit him since they said he was a witch. People heard he was a witch, and they killed him. He was the same age as my husband [*about twenty-seven*].

The curers who have survived to an old age were introduced into the profession by an elder relative. They choose their clients carefully, refusing to cure a man who is on the point of death, and remaining within their own section of the dual division. These rules of survival are ignored by some of the younger men who wish to impress their elders with their powers.

The changing image of the curers. The curers of today are unfavorably compared with those of the past who used their power for good. The prototype of the old curer was the fearful Tatik Ča?uk, Lord of the Lightning, possibly a local manifestation of the Maya god Chac.[2] The dialectic of power is exemplified in his control over beneficial and destructive forces. His beneficence is demonstrated in his ability to bring rain to crops, while his vengeance is revealed in lightning bolts which can kill people and destroy houses. Anyone who is struck by lightning is believed to have had some sin for which the Tatik Ča?uk has punished him. His destructive force is equated with a rifle—called "the elder brother of the Lord of Lightning"—and with the "heat" which brings death in illnesses. His habitation is believed to be the Cave of the Star where the heat which causes epidemics is found.

The curers were intermediaries for the Tatik Ča?uk in their control over both destructive and beneficial forces. Formerly, the swayohel of the curers patrolled the streets of the town to prevent the entry of evildoers bringing heat. It is in this role that they are referred to as me'iltatil. If an epidemic occurred, the two leading curers from each side of the town con-

2. In other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities, the god Ča?uk is named as the chief figure from pre-Conquest theology (Hermitte 1964, Holland 1963:93).

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medicine. But why should they ask for medicine if the curers were going to eat their souls as he told me? I asked him, "How do you eat their souls?" He said that the five or six curers would make a common meal. They looked for a frying pan, and when it was well cooked, they would call all the curers and say, "Come, let us eat in common." When people came to ask for medicine, they would say, "Please, give us medicine." The curers would give the medicine, but the sick ones did not get well. The curers were only deceiving them. How could they get well if they wanted to eat their souls? They only wasted their money.

It is this that O. K. said to me. He told me himself that he had eaten the souls. Then I felt that he was bad because of what he himself had told me. To this day, I believe that he himself did the evil to his patients.

The personality of the curer. In view of the hazards of entering the curing profession and the low material rewards, the question of what motivates a curer to practice is of some interest. The older curers claim that God spoke to them in a dream and made known His desire that they cure. They conceive of it as a responsibility to the people, and maintain that their power comes from God. This contradicts parallel statements made by the same curers that their power comes from their swayohel. The younger curers say that the curers of their side selected them because they saw that they had a swayohel.

Direct questioning yields only limited understanding of what motivates these extraordinary people. The behavior of some of the curers reveals facets of the role which could not be elicited from them in questioning. Curers are able to defy tenets of the moral code of the community which stress softness and slowness, a moderation which is fundamentally based on fear of the world of spirits and of men. When drunk, the curers brag about their strength and fearlessness. They try to avoid the usual negative sanctions to such behavior by asserting the strength of their swayoheles and their imperviousness to harm.

My elder brother Albino was drinking with the dead Nicolás, leader of the curers of Alannantik. When both were half drunk, my elder brother asked Niholás what swayohel he had.

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159 756 *"You won't be afraid if I show it?" Nicolás asked. He then flipped his kotonču four times and a black bull appeared. It disappeared, and they drank some more. Nicolás made the bull appear again.*

Nicolás was ejido commissioner when I was president. We began to talk one day in the cabildo. "Who is the strongest of all the curers?" we asked. One said that now it was the elder brother Nicolás.

Čiko turned to Nico and said, "Tell us who is the strongest of all who know curing." Nico replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is strong as the dead Mamal Komesil [elder Gomez] and I." Čiko said, "Mam D. is good."

"Less so," said Nico. "One time we tested it. I took out a sheep and a black dog. He [D.] took out a goat and a pig, and we ordered the animals to run. And I saw that the swayohel of D. could not run. Mine ran well, and his couldn't arrive before mine. It was then that I saw he was not as strong."

541 756 Formerly, when bullfights were held in the town as a feature of the fiesta of Santiago, curers took the great risk of riding the backs of the bulls to demonstrate their bravery. The fight became a symbolic defiance of culturally instilled fears. The fights are organized in this fashion: one man mounts the bull which has no saddle, bridle, or grip of any kind. His feet are tied under the belly of the bull, which increases the hazard if he is thrown since he can easily be dragged under the hooves of the bull. A man stands with a cape before the bull, trying to unseat his opponent. The curer Minko regularly entered the fights as a rider. He drank copiously before mounting the bull. He himself would try to goad the bull into jumping by leaning backward and biting its tail or kicking its sides. People rated even more highly than Minko's performance that of another curer, Bon, who, they said, never even shook when he climbed onto the bull as did Minko. They realized that Minko needed the liquor to face the threat of being crushed by the hooves of the bull, but that Bon was beyond fear. In these displays of fearlessness, some of the curers enjoy a sense of power and freedom from the inhibitions conditioning the behavior of ordinary men.

756 178 578 Competition and the assertion of power among the younger curers is

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

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621 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed.

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office.

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation.

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927.

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died.

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited

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622 661 609 or abused by leaders from outside the community. Stories by other informants indicate that Augustín took advantage of his power as president. He was accused of charging high fines in court and pocketing the money. Finally a case against him was brought to the Ministerio Publico in the departmental capital. The denunciation is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe, who replaced him as president:

159 622 661 609 [692] *The court's decision was that Augustín had to return the three hundred and fifty pesos that he had forced out of Juan in the land case. Augustín claimed that it was difficult for him to pay the fine. He said he would pay it in installments. Juan wanted it right away. After a month, the money still was not handed over. I spoke to the Ministerio Publico who told Augustín to sell his cattle. The pueblo wanted to seize the cattle. Augustín got frightened, and said he would sell his cattle. He sold them. After this he never returned to work in the pueblo.*

There were no killings in this affair. Eight days after he gave the money, Augustín came to the town hall with a pistol. I noticed it and said, "Better come in an register this pistol." He ignored this and spoke to the judge for a while.

I told a policeman, "Go get the pistol and register it." The policeman was afraid. I asked him, "Why are you afraid?" He said, "I am afraid." I said, "You have turned into a woman."

The policeman seized Augustín's arms. I went behind and took the pistol out of his hand. Augustín said, "Why are you taking my pistol? I have committed no crime."

I replied, "You came to bother the people here." I took away the pistol.

Augustín also knew how to wear a watch. His son bought it from a thief for one hundred and twenty-five pesos. We also took his watch because it was stolen. I told him, "Go look for work and earn money. The Ministerio Publico has given orders that you cannot continue working here. You cannot rob here any more."

He went away for two months, and then came back to get his things and moved to Teopisca.

621 609 578 Despite this successful denunciation, Augustín's son, Juan, tried to "get control of the town." He and the other Huistecans of the barrio of Yeta-

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as the direct agents of the ancestors, guarded the streets of their own side of the dual division. The judges, with the supervision of the principales, were responsible for guarding against the abuse of power by the curers or others possessing a swayohel in their review of witchcraft cases in the town hall. The three sets of functionaries—ancestors, curers, and judges—are classified in a lexicon of role function in the stem *me? . . tat . .*, common to the terms applied to them, me?tiktatik, me?iltatil, and me?eštateš.[3]

The system of control over the use of power has been in a state of uneasy tension. In a series of incidents recounted below, the growing suspicion that the judges and the principales were not countering the witches because of their fear of falling victim to them, and that the curers themselves were exercising the witchcraft becomes apparent.

In the following case, the system of checks and balances was upset by the entry into the presidency in 1940 of Mam Nicolás, the leading curer of Allannantik. Nicolás combined the skills of operating in the traditional culture with those of dealing with the Ladino world. Despite the fact that he was a graduate of the boarding school operating in the town in the 1930s, which had far more extensive effects in acculturation as well as formal education than any prior school, he practiced curing. The case is recounted by Ceferino, the scribe:

Formerly the dead president Mam Nicolás left at midday from the town hall and went to his house where he ate a meal. A neighbor, Francisco, came to talk to him. They drank a half a liter of trago, and then began to drink a second and got drunk. They began to say goodbye, and Francisco left Nicolás' house. When Nicolás saw that Francisco went out, he grabbed his shotgun. He saw that Francisco was now far away, and he fired many shots. One got him right in his back. When Francisco felt it, he shouted. The police heard him and went to get the judges who came to see also. His [Francisco's] wife came. She raised his head and cried when she saw he was dead. An elder sister brought a new mat to carry him.

3. The suffixes *-el*, and *-tik* refer to pronominal forms, as in "you judges" and "our ancestors." *-il* is an article, as in "the curers." In prayer, the ancestors may be addressed in the second person, or the judges may be referred to with the first-person-plural possessive, but these forms are rare in those contexts.

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carry him. When the new mat arrived, the judge ordered that he be brought to his house. The judges saw that the shot had entered well. They ordered the police to seize Nicolás and put him in prison. They saw that Francisco died.

The night entered, and the judges ordered the police to guard the killer throughout the night. At dawn he remained in prison and stayed there the entire day. On the third day, they "took his heart" [questioned him] to see what his crime was. He said that Francisco had blamed him for giving witchcraft and that it was not his fault, that he was not a witch. He got angry and shot Francisco. The judge heard the case and raised an act. They sent him to San Cristóbal and the síndico, Simón, took over the presidency. He remained in power in the pueblo.

People heard that the new president could not arrange things in the town hall. Illness entered the pueblo. Word was left that Juan, Ebaristo, and Antonio had brought in the illness. All those who "knew how to make fiestas" [reference to curers functioning in curing ritual] gathered together in the town hall. The two leading curers came with a garrafón of liquor. The curers drank until nighttime.

The president remained in prison. When the night had entered well, he slept. And although he had heard many rumors about what was going to happen, he slept well. At dawn, the president was "of one heart" [content]. A policeman arrived and said that Antonio had been brought to jail.

"Why?" asked the president. "For what crime has he been put in prison?"

The policeman said that it was for witchcraft, and that they had gone out to get the other witch Juan, but he had escaped into the Cave of the Star. Although there were fifteen men after him, they couldn't seize him. They had also gone to catch Ebaristo, but he was not in his house, and they did not find him. The crime of the three was that they had brought in the illness.

Meanwhile, everyone was saying that Nicolás was also responsible for letting the illness in the town. People said that he had vowed that if the authorities seized him, he would let in the illness. The townspeople got drunk.

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Eight men of Alannantik wanted the interim president, Simón to remain as president. But the people of Ahk'olnantik did not want him to remain as president. The townspeople began to talk, saying, "Why should he remain as president since he stole twenty bulls? We don't want him. Let us get another president. We shall walk with Ceferino."

They wanted me for president since I was first regidor. It is for this reason that I entered as president, but I didn't think that I would be able to stay on as president. Simón received an order from the [state] government that he should return as president. He came with soldiers, and when they took me out of office, the lieutenant said to Simón, "Now you enter."

And so I gave over the archives and seals and everything in the presidency to Simón, and I left the presidency. And the people saw that it was the order of the government, and they did not say anything. The town remained silent.

The incident is given as it was related to me in Tzeltal. I have sorted out the steps in which the conflict developed in order to clarify its meaning.

1. The traditional checks and balance system of the civil authority over the curers was initially upset by the entry of a leading curer into the post of president.

2. When he committed a murder while in office, the judges seized control and had him put in prison.

3. His replacement by the síndico who was from the same side of the dual division, aroused the opposition of the people of the opposite side, Ahk'olmantik, who believed that the epidemic, which followed the president's removal from power, was caused by the curers of Alannantik under the direction of the president who was in jail.

4. The leaders of the revolt in Ahk'olnantik chose as their replacement the first regidor, Ceferino, who was from their side.

5. Leaders from Alannantik rejected this replacement and were able to get official backing from the state government to replace their representative.

The process illustrates the way in which a conflict, precipitated by a clash between civil authorities and the curers, was cast into the idiom of struc-

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ginal to the community, either a foreign Indian, as in the case of Augustín, or a Ladino, as in the cases of the secretary and schoolmaster described below. The only indigenous candidate for the role was recently killed. It provokes too much envy for someone socialized in the community; fear of being accused and even killed as a witch or a power-seeker is justified by several such precedents. Those with the skills to become caciques have until recently been effectively incorporated in the existing hierarchy as firmanetik.

Second, the cacique is a gatekeeper, channeling information, goods, and services from the outside to the members of the community. In this capacity, he prefers to pose as a benefactor when he may actually be no more than the distributor of government welfare goods and services.[4]

Third, the role of cacique is one in which the incumbent operates in a local sphere, but depends upon a network of compadrazgo and professional ties outside of the community to assure his position in the community. He must be sufficiently aware of the local idiom in order to avoid making enemies.

Finally, the role is monopolistic. This results in part from the fact that the outside world prefers to deal with a single representative for reasons of expediency. However, new governmental agents are more and more dealing directly with Indians, a factor which has shaken the position of the cacique. The monopolistic quality of the position also stems from the fact that the profit to be gleaned from the community is small. A Ladino from a neighboring town commented that it was worth the time of only one man to exploit an Indian community of the size of Tzo'ontahal. The extractable profit is diminishing as the Indians become more aware of their rights.

The change in character and range of activities of local caciques is illustrated by the recent careers of two residents of Tzo'ontahal. In the 1950s and until 1964, the Ladino secretary, Don Ramon, had filled the role of cacique. He took advantage of this role not only by collecting a salary and a percentage of court fees, but also by earning money for using his influence in Ladino official circles outside the community. He lent money for interest and subsidized some enterprises such as growing cabbages with Indian partners.

4. Goldrich (1965) points to this tactic of politicians who distribute government goods as though they were their own gifts.

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partners. He sold a few shares of a truck he and his family owned to Indians, but he retained the controlling interest. His wife was reputed to be a witch, and was an active curer, combining old and new treatments of illnesses.

His position was challenged in the 1960s by the Ladino schoolmaster, who had been remarkably unsuccessful from his arrival in 1953 until that time in gaining personal power and influence. His intercession in a local homicide case involving a father's murder of his son outraged the townspeople, some of whom threatened to kill him. His attempts to have water installed aroused the curers against him since they were accustomed to bathing their patients at the source of the spring from which they were debarred when the plumbing was installed. His demands that children within the legal age limit should not only attend school but should be prohibited from marrying until they had completed their schooling caused the anger of parents who wanted to give their daughters in an early and profitable marriage.

Gradually, however, the schoolmaster extended his own base of support. He minimized his attack on local customs, adhering only to those laws affecting the school population, over which he had a great deal of control. Some of his support came from the orthodox Catholic members of the community; he extended his control through compadre relationships with over eighty members of the community. He showed movies which he acquired from the United Nations and other educational film sources and gave away medicines acquired from the health officials in the state capitol who were his friends. From one of these sources of philanthropy he acquired wool shawls which he gave to every woman in the town.

The professor demanded no return from the townspeople other than their respect and admiration; he was a person who enjoyed commanding others and needed an arena in which to project his own personality. In his early years in the town, he had to satisfy this need by capturing stray tourists and plying them with soda pop or coffee. His first opportunity to gain leadership in the local sphere came in 1963, when he supported the new truck-owning cooperative. He used the influence of contacts in the state capital, including compadres, friends, and relatives of his wife's family. He promoted the cooperative's attempt to gain the presidency. One of the first

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acts of the new officials was to fire the Ladino secretary and install an Indian for the first time. The schoolmaster had won his battle for recognition. In every legal dispute in which the town became involved, the schoolmaster accompanied the town officials as they went to visit departmental and state leaders, acting as their spokesman. He never accepted even expenses for these trips. His satisfaction was in giving advice to the officials on all matters, in being the man whom outsiders consulted before anything could be accomplished, and in finding an audience.

The schoolmaster consolidated his position by drawing together all his supporters in a parent-teachers association, which served as a captive audience for his extended monologues. I was called upon as a witness to the installation of the members, and I took advantage of the occasion to record some of the schoolmaster's rhetoric as he addressed the "parents." In attendance were the president, his brother, four members of their truck-owning cooperative, and about ten other representatives. The teacher told me that they were the best people in town—not one of them had killed anyone! The excerpt below is not complete, but there was sufficient repetition in the schoolmaster's discourse so that nothing is lost.

Schoolmaster: "I don't fight with anyone. We do not come to fight. A schoolmaster is a guide to teach respect. I have thirty-three years teaching in pueblos of campesinos, poor people like you. I am your brother. I am your teacher. The ignorant people do not want to send their children to school. This is a good school, and there are those of you who have succeeded by learning. Ramon Leon was a boarding school student for two years. He and seven others have received scholarships. They accuse me of not working, but they do not know what is happening in the school. Those who know give congratulations to the school. The children of this school won the competition at the conference of teachers. It is neither a poor school with poor students, nor a rich school with rich students, but all are together. They say we do not teach. Compadre" (to president), "is this so? They say we only dance, but at the conference our students won the prize.

"This school is yours. It is better organized than any other. The flag which we had we gave to Villa Las Rosas because they are campesinos;

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they are my friends. I prefer to send it there than to Teopisca, because they are campesinos.

"I have proved to you I am a friend of campesinos and of the poor. I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are distilling liquor. This is an affair of the civil authorities, not of me. If some come to tell me that so and so has killed someone, I close my ears.

"What is more important in life is what is in your head, not your clothing. Do you understand me?"

All reply, "Yes, maestro."

"If we are going to win over Teopisca and Villa Las Rosas, our children have to work hard. I had the luck of receiving a medal because I am one of the principal teachers and know the preparation of teachers. The Jefe of Operation put a medal on my breast and gave me an abrazo. *Here is the picture taken two years ago—Lupe get the rag!" Schoolmaster dusts photograph with rag. "Here you see me with the medal on my breast.*

"Who is more important—the one who accuses me and has to put his finger to sign the declaration, or those of you who can write?

"Now the schoolmaster does not give permission to let the children stay away from school. We do not have authority to release the children except for illness. Those children who go most often to school are those who get ahead. They speak idioma [*native language*] *when they play, but when they enter the school they speak* Castellano [*Spanish*].

"Now you know everything. I am happy with you. If there are some who are not happy that I am here, then I shall go happily. There are schools where schoolmasters hit the children. There is a school where the Indian teacher hit a child three times. This is a crime!

"I know where all this talk comes from. Don Ramon [Ladino secretary who supported opposing candidate mentioned above] has a truck—he and Doña Juana. They buy wheat and corn at half price. If the Indians do not pay off, they get double the return at the next harvest. My compadres have come and told me. Those who are with him are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him. They have two trucks in Teopisca. They come and ask people to sign a paper supporting their candidate. People sign because they are afraid she [Juana] will use witchcraft."

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President: "Ramon left her, but then he went back to her because of witchcraft."

Schoolmaster "This is the group which is against me and is against the pueblo."

Schoolmaster's wife: "You see how happy the pueblo is." She waves her hand to plaza where marimba is playing for the fiesta. "Everything is well organized. Not as it was formerly when Don Ramon was in town."

President: "You see how the pueblo is learning. The children are learning to knit. Everyone knits."

Schoolmaster, giving oath of office to parents: "In the name of the Secretary of Public Education, I ask you to serve with faithfulness to the pueblo. The school is the defense of the country. It is preparing you for tomorrow. The society of parents of the school represents you. Your children represent the future of the country in the sign of the three colors, and you have the obligation to defend the country. The country will become great when all the children know how to write. When Mexico has need of its children, the children will be prepared to die for the country. You should see that schools prepare the children. See Mexico is a country united.

"I have been here since 1953. It is not now as it was then. We have water, a highway. You are not in the state you were then.

"Today we see a kiosk." He waves hand to plaza. "Tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory. It will be a grand pueblo, a civilized pueblo. There was a schoolmaster here who worked two days a week. I have worked every day since 1953. I secured eight scholarships for the children. If there are some who didn't go, it is because their father does not send them. If there are those who say the school does not function, they are traitors to the pueblo. Honorable Society of Fathers of Families, I am the schoolmaster. I shall explain. Give an applause." Applause.

The schoolmaster's discourse reveals several aspects of his position in the town. He indicates the lesson he has learned in avoiding interference in the town's social control system ("I don't have to say anything if I see that some are killing, that some are taking out trago. This is an affair of the

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civil officials, not of me"). He identifies himself with the Indians in the fight against the competitive trucking cooperative ("Those who are with him [Don Ramon] are traitors to the pueblo. They are being exploited by him"). While he does not accuse Ramon's wife directly of witchcraft he implies this in saying that people sign their candidate's nomination petition for president because they are afraid Juana will use witchcraft. This is a characteristic mode of attacking one's enemies in the town. He claims credit for all of the innovations in the town which have won public approval—the highway, the water supply, electricity, and so forth.

The profit motive is inadequate to explain why Ladinos want to play the role of cacique in these corporate Indian communities. One must seek for an explanation instead in the social status they gain. While their jobs are limited and usually frustrating and they can never be completely integrated into the community, political activities offer them a larger arena in which they can derive personal satisfaction. The contrast between the schoolmaster's position in Tzo'ontahal before he became a political leader and his position after finding local supporters illustrates this. In the early days of his residence in town, when he built a chicken coop which extended a few feet beyond the grounds allotted to the schoolhouse, some Indians threatened to kill him. In 1957, I saw him trying to summon a policeman from the town hall, which was adjacent to the schoolhouse, to remove a boulder from the path so that a visiting friend could pass in his automobile. No one heeded his urgent shouts or the whistle he used to call children to school, although they were well aware of what he wanted. But by 1965 there was not a single important transaction which did not require consultation with the schoolteacher. Campesinos from as far as Villa Las Rosas came to request his advice and his help in approaching government agents. In projecting his political role, he gained support for projects which were of interest to him. When he had succeeded in getting the government to install water pipes and electricity, he talked the civil authorities into building a kiosk, or bandstand, in the plaza. This was a fulfillment of his ambition to make the town over in the image of a colonial Spanish pueblo. His final statement in the speech quoted above, "Today we see a kiosk, tomorrow we will have a telephone, telegraph, and a factory!" reveals the symbolic significance it had for him.

304 The traumatic experience In the Eyes of the Ancestors
877 of his first day in school
177 is recounted by a man now sixty-eight years of age. He was thirteen in
115 1918, the first year that compulsory education was introduced into the town.

• 159 *I was in my house when I heard the civil authorities call the children to*
177 *school. The police came to tell me to go to school. I did not go because my*
877 *mother wanted me to accompany her on the road to Teopisca. On our way to Teopisca, the inspector saw me and asked me why I didn't go to school. My mother replied, "I am a widow. He came with me because I seek for what we eat. Therefore he must go with me."*

The inspector did not hear her words. Since he was mounted on horseback, he said to me as I was walking, "Come here, boy. Don't walk on foot, climb up on the horse." I was embarrassed to climb up on the horse, and I had some fear because I had never ridden on horseback. I began to cry. "Don't cry," he said. "You are only going to school. The schoolmaster will not beat you." It is then that my mother said, "Señor, don't take him. See that there is no one else to accompany me on the road. When I come home, there will be no one to do errands."

But the inspector feared nothing. His heart was hot, hot. A man came by and told the inspector that I did not know how to ride and that I was afraid. The inspector said, "If he doesn't know how to ride, then you take him." But the man replied, "But I don't want to. It is better that I go get wood. You take him by force if you can, Señor. I go before your face" [*a way of excusing himself*].

I didn't want to go, and I just cried because I didn't want to. The inspector seized me, and put me on horseback. I was afraid to get up, and I cried and cried from fear. He said, "Stop it! Let us go!"

And so he led the horse with me on it. My mother cried when she saw the inspector take me off on horseback. She remained very sad as I left, since she no longer had a companion. I went on to school, and the inspector handed me over to the schoolmaster.

The schoolmaster gave me a paper with my name, which I didn't know. I did not hear what was said in that large school because I did not know Spanish. The schoolteacher asked me, "What are you called, little boy?" I cried a great deal because I felt sad for my mother whom I had left in

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Teopisca. The schoolmaster said, "Don't cry, Ceferino. I am not going to beat you because you will learn to write. It is good to know how to write. You will speak Spanish because you will hear it, and you will look at the letters because the letters are the same as they are spoken in Spanish. Sit down now, and come tomorrow."

Then I told my mother to look for a slate and chalk because every morning and afternoon I wrote. She was of one heart and did not cry when she heard how I entered in the school.

For the most part, the teachers rely on authority in their program of instruction rather than encouraging the active involvement of students. In the early years of the school, there was a rapid turnover of teachers, but the employment of a schoolmaster with his wife and daughters stabilized the position after 1953. The children respond with respect and fear to the schoolmaster, and occasionally with interest and enthusiasm. The following reminiscences by the informant, Ceferino, reflect the fear, tempered by some pleasure and interest, which he experienced:

The first schoolteacher I had when I entered school was called Chaya. She taught me to write with chalk on a blackboard. Every time I wrote badly, she told me to erase the letters and write another. After I finished, I went to my house at three in the afternoon. The next day I would go back to school. I would write on the blackboard. Writing was another kind of thing. The chalk did not stick well on the blackboard. Afterward, we started to use ink, and I began to learn well. But for a long time, I did not learn how to read. For one year, I couldn't speak Spanish, but I continued writing letters. This schoolteacher left and another came, Mista Munda Gordi. He asked me what my name was, and I told him. He saw that I didn't write the letters well. He was interested. He told me how to do it. Then I began to improve, and my name came out well. He said that the letters were better. He saw that now it was good. "Now you can make capital letters."

Mista Munda used to beat us if we did not make good letters, but I did not know how to make capitals. He told me he would beat me, so I began to do the capitals well. He saw that it was better. When he saw the letters, he gave me a book. In the first year, I finished the book, and he gave me

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159 212 875 876 *another book that added to the letters I knew. He saw that I was doing well. I began to read out loud, and he listened to see if I read well. Then he heard that I did well, and he gave me another letter to learn. Then he gave me another book, to take to my house.*

["Was he a good teacher?" I asked.]

He beat us if we didn't do the letters well. He would pull my ear and he scolded very much. I began to make the letters better, and I was writing when the schoolmaster left.

A third schoolmaster came and taught in the pueblo. He was named Carmen Urban. We received him. I learned a little more writing. Now when he asked me a letter, I could reply. He saw that I knew all the letters, and he gave me another notebook. I began to write with a pen. With the pen my writing came out well. He saw that it was good and gave me another book. After I finished all that was in the book, he took another writing book out. He told me that I read all the letters well. He gave me a fourth book and a piece of paper. It was a very fine book! But this schoolmaster stayed only three months. Then he left. I did not continue in school since my mother said I should continue to learn only until I know all the letters.

She said, "You are an orphan since you don't have a father. You eat by my strength only. Now that you know your letters well, I want to see how well you can help me because I alone am buying corn and you are only eating it. Now that you know everything, you don't have to go to school because you must accompany me in looking for corn."

She saw that I was too big to stay in the school. She went to talk with the schoolmaster to tell him that I could not return. She told the schoolmaster, "See before your eyes that Ceferino has no father. It is for this that I want him to accompany me looking for corn." The schoolmaster said that I could not go out because I was now learning well. But my mother began to cry before the eyes of the schoolmaster and the president. He lowered his heart and said, "Well, take him then."

I left then. My mother heard and went happily because her boy had come out. When I came out I said "Thank you" to the schoolmaster. He said, "Now you know and go. Don't forget your letters. Take this book, and go on reading in order not to forget." I began to copy all the letters in the book so that I would learn some.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Despite the beating and the scolding, Ceferino recognized that the schoolteachers cared, and this inspired him to learn. He learned to write without any knowledge of the meaning of the words in his first year of schooling, but this did not discourage him. He was among the first four literate Indians in the community.

The program of education for primary schools today is scheduled by the Secretary of Public Education in Mexico City. The teachers conform to this as best they can in the overcrowded, understaffed conditions. The first-year program, according to the book, includes, in addition to reading and math, health studies—basic knowledge of nutrition, social and personal hygiene, the study of the healthful environment, the prevention of diseases and accidents, and first aid. The second-year course includes the study of nature—the sky, earth, seasons, the various changes in the moon, and conservation of natural resources. In the third year of their training the children learn about social life—the child in the home, school, community, and nation. The fourth year includes creative activities—games and artistic expression through learning to play musical instruments and the formation of orchestras, for example. The fifth year teaches practical activities—the construction of toys, work in gardens and other agricultural projects, and the economics of the home; and the program during the sixth year stresses the study of the national language, arithmetic, and geometry. Each of these six sections has a list of the knowledge, habits, abilities, and attitudes the teacher should have formed in the children by the time they have finished the year. The lists become more detailed with each passing year. The amount of material the teacher is expected to cover is impressive.

Mary Marshall's observation of classroom behavior (Appendix 3B) suggests some of the complexities of communicating this standard program in a class of first-year pupils. Inside the schoolroom almost all behavior is initiated and controlled by the teacher. All communication within the school is in Spanish—the teacher ignores responses other than those in Spanish—although most of the children understand no Spanish when they enter school. The regular pattern of question and response is sometimes broken up by demonstration of objects. The children's response is greater when the teacher reverses the pupil-schoolteacher role and lets them ask the questions she tells them. The scarcity of materials imposes a greater bur-

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
(606) with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
589 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

• 159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

[428]

159 592 437 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

159 indicated that "she did not live in the house, nor was the boss
592 there." Margarita knew the price at which to sell, but she told
437 off the merchant, in quite a rude manner, and even refused to
602 let him see the animal "because she was sure that the man was
going to give it the evil eye and get it sick."

[601]

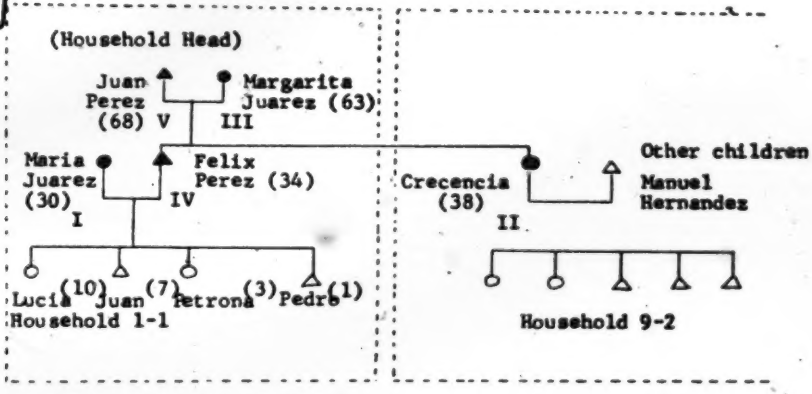

Fig. 9.--Genealogy of Household of Juan Perez

The Ladino merchant utilized every policy of charm and threat, trying to get them to sell the animal, but he began to relize that it was getting him nowhere. None of the women, not even the female head of the household, felt that she could take the responsibility for the business transaction.

When the merchant was ready to leave, Felix arrived. At this point, Felix took up the bargaining. When he could not get the price his father wanted, he resolved that the merchant should

159 592 439 602 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that María had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 593 562 421 [431] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so. It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] [851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [42] [562] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

562 428 598 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

• 159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in [626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to 567 428 578 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

159 428 562 578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept [592] [606] [587] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

Household 24-7

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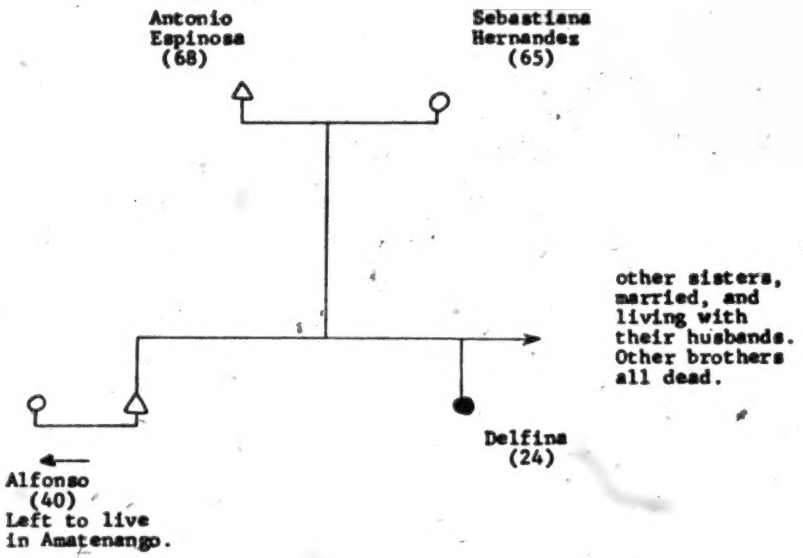

Fig. 15.--Genealogy of Delfina Espinosa

159 428 562 578 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

[606] [736] Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the property at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 422 593 578 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.

Case 3

[431] When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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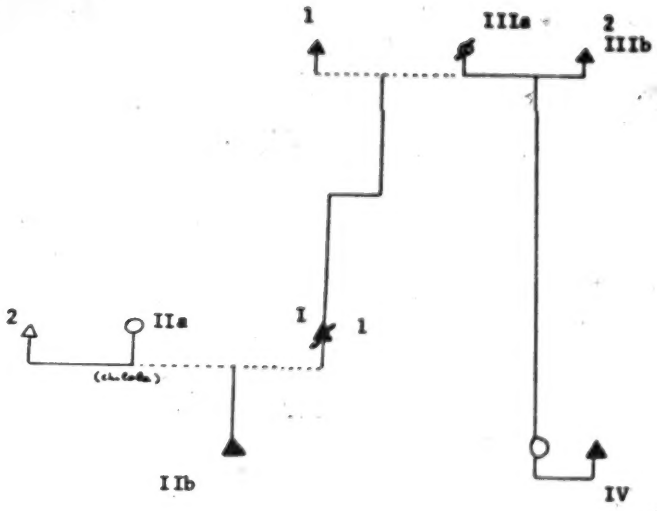

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

159 422 593 578 During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

177 178 754 776 613 Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the native belief system has preserved many of its early features, it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The pervasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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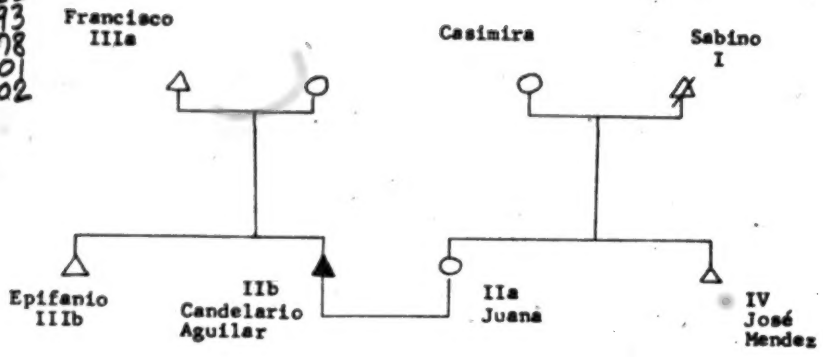

I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar